

HART-TEETER  
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 802 respondents  
Dates: November 9, 1994

48 Male  
52 Female  
**[5]**

**FINAL**

Study #4054  
NBC News/WSJ  
November 9, 1994

AR	TYPE	SA	FORM	DAT
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<b>[6]</b>	<b>[8]</b>	<b>[9]</b>	<b>[12]</b>	<b>[13]</b>
<b>[7]</b>		<b>[10]</b>		<b>[14]</b>
<b>]</b>		<b>]</b>		<b>]</b>

November 0 9 1994

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least eighteen years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who has had the most recent birthday? **(IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:)** Well, of the ones you do know, who has had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? **(IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)**

**(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:)** Here is my first question. **(PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)**

**(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)**

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least eighteen years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? **(IF "YES," SAY:)** Here is my first question. **(PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)**

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered .....	10	<b>CONTINUE</b>	<b>[15]</b>
	0		<b>]</b>
Not registered.....	-	<b>TERMINAT</b>	
		<b>E</b>	
Not sure.....	-		

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track? \*

	<u>11/9/9</u>	<u>10/94</u>	
	<u>4</u>		
Right direction.....	37	27	<b>[16]</b>
			<b>]</b>

Wrong track.....	42	57
Mixed (VOL).....	12	14
Not sure.....	9	2

3a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president? \*

	<u>11/9/94</u>	<u>11/4</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	
		-	4								
		<u>5/94</u>									
Approve.....	43	44	46	44	48	53	56	53	59	56	<b>[17]</b>
Disapprove.....	48	44	45	49	46	39	39	37	33	34	
Not sure.....	9	12	9	7	6	8	5	10	8	10	

<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>
46	50	45	40	50	56	51
44	40	46	51	36	27	17
10	10	9	9	14	17	32

3b. If the next election for president were held today, **(ROTATE ORDER OF NAMES ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW)** and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate and Bob Dole were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote? \*

	<u>11/9/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	
Bill Clinton.....	39	43	
Bob Dole.....	45	45	<b>[18]</b>
Depends (VOL).....	3	1	
Neither/other (VOL).....	5	6	
Not sure.....	8	5	

\* Please note comparative data is of registered voters.

3c. How much change would you like to see in the direction in which President Clinton has been leading the country--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or not that much?

A great deal of change.....	3	<b>[19]</b>
	6	
Quite a bit of change.....	2	
	6	
Just some change.....	2	
	5	
Not that much change.....	1	
	0	
No change (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	2	

4. In general, how would you rate the overall quality of the election campaigns this year--were they among the best you can remember, better than average, average, worse than average, or were they among the worst you can remember?

Among the best.....	4	<b>[20]</b>
Better than average.....	8	
Average.....	3	
	2	
Worse than average.....	1	
	9	
Among the worst.....	3	
	5	

Not sure..... 2

5a. Did you happen to vote in yesterday's elections, or didn't you get a chance to vote?

Yes, voted .....	85	<b>CONTINUE [21]</b>
No, did not vote.....	15	<b>SKIP TO Q.7a</b>
Not sure.....	-	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY VOTED IN Q.5a.)**

5b. In your district, did you vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?

Voted for Republican.....	51	<b>[22]</b>
Voted for Democrat.....	40	
Voted for other (VOL).....	1	
Did not vote for U.S. House (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	7	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY VOTED IN Q.5a.)**

5c. And thinking generally about the elections yesterday for state offices and Congress, did you mostly vote for Democrats, or did you mostly vote for Republicans?

Mostly voted for Democrats.....	3	<b>[23]</b>
	8	
Mostly voted for Republicans.....	4	
	7	
Both equally (VOL).....	9	
Not sure.....	6	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY VOTED IN Q.5a.)**

6. Now, I am going to read you a number of positions and qualities people have said were important in deciding how they would vote in yesterday's congressional elections. For each, please tell me if this was a major reason to support a candidate, a major reason to oppose a candidate, or if it was not a major factor in deciding your vote. The first is if a candidate **(READ ITEM)**. Was this a major reason to support a candidate, a major reason to oppose a candidate, or not a major factor in your decision? **(RECORD BELOW; CONTINUE WITH EACH ITEM ON LIST AND REPEAT CHOICES.)**

	Major Reason To Support A Candidate	Major Reason To Oppose A Candidate	Not A Major Factor	Not Sure	
Favored a woman's right to an abortion.....	32	20	46	2	<b>[24]</b>
Was endorsed by the NRA, the National Rifle Association.....	19	27	51	3	<b>[25]</b>
Was an incumbent in Congress.....	16	15	62	7	<b>[26]</b>
Pledged to cut taxes and welfare payments.....	56	13	26	5	<b>[27]</b>
Had generally supported President Clinton's agenda.....	29	35	33	3	<b>[28]</b>
Was endorsed by Religious Right groups such as Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition.....	12	35	50	3	<b>[29]</b>



**(ASK EVERYONE)**

- 7a. As a result of yesterday's elections, how much change do you think there will be in the direction of the country--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or not that much?

A great deal of change....	1	Not that much	25	<b>[30]</b>
	7	change.....		
Quite a bit of change.....	1	No change (VOL).....	2	
	8			
Just some change.....	3	Not sure.....	3	
	5			

- 7b. Overall, how do you feel about the results of yesterday's elections--do you feel they are very positive for the country, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative for the country?

Very positive.....	2	<b>[31]</b>
	5	
Somewhat positive.....	4	
	4	
Somewhat negative.....	1	
	4	
Very negative.....	9	
Neutral/mixed (VOL)....	4	
Not sure.....	4	

- 7c. Now, I'm going to read you some specific results of yesterday's elections, and for each one, please tell me if you feel it is very positive for the country, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative for the country? **(READ ITEM) (REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW).**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Neutral /Mixed (VOL)</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Republicans have a majority in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.....	31	34	18	11	3	3	<b>[32]</b>
Oliver North was defeated as a candidate for senator from Virginia.....	36	23	14	9	7	11	<b>[33]</b>
More conservatives were elected to Congress.....	28	36	19	8	5	4	<b>[34]</b>
More than thirty incumbent members of Congress were defeated.....	29	36	17	6	7	5	<b>[35]</b>
Fewer people were elected who support President Clinton's legislative agenda..	29	25	23	15	5	3	<b>[36]</b>
The White House and Congress are now controlled by different parties.....	24	34	19	16	4	3	<b>[37]</b>

- 7d. Which of the following do you think is the single best explanation for yesterday's election results? **(READ ITEMS. ROTATE ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

People wanted to see change in Washington.....	53	<b>[38]</b>
People voted against President Clinton and his agenda.....	19	
People wanted a more conservative Congress . .	12	
The Republicans generally had better candidates than the Democrats.....	9	
All equally important (VOL).....	2	
Other/none (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	3	

- 8a. Overall, which type of issues should Congress devote more attention to this year--**(ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW)** economic issues, such as jobs, taxes, and economic growth, or social issues, such as immigration, crime, and welfare?

Economic issues .....	4	<b>[39]</b>
	7	
Social issues .....	3	
	5	
Both/neither (VOL).....	1	
	7	
Not sure.....	1	

- 8b. I'd like to read you a list of six possible legislative priorities. Please tell me which one or two you feel are the most important issues for the next Congress to address. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT NO MORE THAN TWO ANSWERS.)**

Welfare reform.....	4	<b>[40]</b>
	6	
Health care reform.....	3	>
	7	
Balanced budget amendment to the Constitution.....	2	
	6	
Congressional term limits.....	8	
A middle class tax cut.....	2	
	9	
Job training programs.....	2	
	5	
All equally important (VOL).....	3	
None is important (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	1	

- 9a. Who do you want to see take the lead role in setting policy for the country---President Clinton or the Congress?

President Clinton.....	3	<b>[41]</b>
	0	
Congress.....	5	
	5	
Shared/equal role (VOL).....	1	
	1	
Neither (VOL).....	1	



Not sure..... 3

- 9b. Which of the following concerns you more--that Republicans in Congress will go too far in directions that voters do not support, or that President Clinton will not go far enough in making the adjustments that voters want?

More concerned about Republicans going too far.....	33	<b>[42]</b>
More concerned about President Clinton not making adjustments.....	56	
Both (VOL).....	4	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	5	

- 9c. Compared to the past two years, do you think President Clinton and the new Congress will work together more successfully, will work together less successfully, or will work together about the same?

Work together more successfully.....	29	<b>[43]</b>
Work together less successfully.....	32	
Work together about the same.....	36	
Not sure.....	3	

- 9d. In your view, which of the following is the more important for President Clinton to do in dealing with the new Congress--follow through on the original promises that he made in 1992, or compromise and revise his agenda?

Follow through on original promises.....	28	<b>[44]</b>
Compromise and revise agenda.....	67	
Depends/some of both (VOL) .....	3	
Not sure.....	2	

10. For each of the following issues, please tell me if you think that President Clinton or the Republicans in Congress generally will have the better approach to this issue, or if there will not be much difference. Who do you think will have a better approach to **(READ ITEM)**--President Clinton or the Republicans in Congress, or do you think there won't be much difference on this issue?

	<u>President Clinton</u>	<u>Republicans In Congress</u>	<u>No Difference</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Crime.....	18	38	40	4	<b>[45]</b>
Jobs and economic growth.....	30	44	22	4	<b>[46]</b>
The budget deficit.....	23	46	27	4	<b>[47]</b>
Social Security and Medicare.....	29	42	24	5	<b>[48]</b>
Foreign affairs.....	36	37	22	5	<b>[49]</b>
Welfare reform.....	26	48	21	5	<b>[50]</b>
Health care.....	36	39	20	5	<b>[51]</b>
Taxes.....	17	55	23	5	<b>[52]</b>

**FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.**

F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

**(IF "YES," ASK:)** For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

<b>YES, VOTED</b>		
George Bush.....	3	<b>{200}</b>
	5	
Bill Clinton .....	4	
	2	
Ross Perot.....	1	
	2	
None (VOL)/not sure/refused.....	4	
<b>NO, DID NOT VOTE</b> .....	6	
<b>NOT SURE IF VOTED/REFUSED</b> .....	1	

F2. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

**(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:)** Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN.")**

**(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	<b>{202}</b>
	9	
Not very strong Democrat.....	1	
	2	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	9	
Strictly Independent.....	1	
	3	
Independent/lean Republican.....	1	
	0	
Not very strong Republican.....	1	
	1	
Strong Republican.....	1	
	9	
Other.....	4	
Refused.....	1	
Don't know/nothing.....	2	

F3. How old are you? **(IF REFUSED, ASK:)** Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	7	45-49.....	10	<b>{204}</b>
25-29.....	8	50-54.....	8	
30-34.....	1	55-59.....	6	
	0			
35-39.....	1	60-64.....	6	
	1			
40-44.....	1	65 and over.....	22	

1	
Refused.....	1

F4. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	2	<b>{203}</b>
Some high school.....	7	
High school graduate.....	2	
	9	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	7	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	1	
	2	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	1	
	8	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years' postgraduate work, master's	9	
degree.....		
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	3	
Not sure.....	1	

F5. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	81	<b>{214}</b>
Black.....	12	
Hispanic.....	4	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F6. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

Do not object.....	8	<b>{217}</b>
	5	
Object--do not call.....	1	
	5	